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staple grains to grow marketable vegetables for cash instead.[18] Whether their diet had improved is not clear. By the Second World War a mere 3% of the entire Nilgiri population subsisted primarily on millets; the other 97% depended on purchased rice (Krishnaswami, 1947, 464). Coffee was not a successful crop in most parts of the plateau, and much of that plantation land was later given over to tea. This, together with the development of Badaga tea plantations from about 1925 onward, accounts for the great increase in tea acreage over the thirty-five year period covered in Table 2 (Ranga, 1934, 18–22).

The plantation crops called for more expertise than Badagas could usually muster and so were mostly confined to European land-holdings; even so, some Badagas were growing tea and a little coffee in the late 1920s (Ranga, 1934, 2). But potato was relatively easy to cultivate, especially as a government farm in the district helped them with seed, fertilizers and technical advice. During the past fifty years some of the more enterprising Badagas (mainly those able to obtain financial credit) have successfully cultivated tea and coffee on estates both large and small, though this was initially a ruse of theirs to increase the value of their land before selling it to Europeans.[19]

Chemical fertilizers were first used sporadically in the early 1920s; before that only cow-dung and human refuse had been available (Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 44; Grigg, 1880, 468; Ranga, 1934, 14). These chemicals led to much higher yields in the European vegetable crops and helped confirm the belief that growing food for the market was a profitable occupation. Improved seeds, notably potato, and insecticides were also adopted by the Badagas (Nambiar, 1965, 23), who were 'always willing to test any new method of cultivation, or new crops brought to their notice by the Nilgiri Horticultural Society' (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 76, quoting from *Pioneer*, 4 Oct. 1907).

The adoption of fertilizer, insecticide and good seed was soon followed by construction of more terraces on some of the sloping fields. Progress in terracing, however, was much slower than the adoption of other innovations because it demanded a greater capital outlay than many farmers could afford; and most did not possess more than a quarter-hectare of land. Even today some cultivated slopes that badly need terracing because of soil erosion remain unterraced. It is worth noting that in the past several decades the situation has much improved because of the state

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241 242 (654) government's making loans available on relatively easy terms for terrace construction (Grigg, 1880, 470; Ranga, 1934, 12–13).

As a result of terracing in many places and minute subdivision elsewhere, fields are usually so small that it has become inefficient, 241 if not impossible, to plough them (Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, (492) 249). For over forty years therefore the plough and oxen have rarely been seen on the plateau (Ranga, 1934, 12–13; Vivekanandam Pillai, 1937, 249; Noble, 1968, 144–145; see below, p. 167, n. 11). Much of the work load formerly carried by oxen is now taken by cheap migrant labourers from the plains; men work for daily wages of three rupees (equivalent to 40 cts. U.S.), and women for two (1970).

241 654 While the profits from potato, tea and coffee are very much higher per hectare than those from the traditional grain crops, the risks are also much greater. Not only does a farmer need ready cash to buy seed or cuttings, fertilizer and labour, but reserve cash is needed to feed his family should disease ruin the crop one season. Here the co-operative societies set up under state government guidance have helped Badagas somewhat, but less than [426] might be expected. Short-term loans are available against land securities for all members of a society,[20] and long-term loans are obtainable from the Land Mortgage Bank (established in 1937).

177 426 Before the appearance of these facilities the money-lender (a Tamilian Chettiar, a northern Marwari or a Moslem) was an ominous figure in the lives of many Badagas; for some he still is. Early in the present century the monthly interest on his loans ranged from 3% to 12.5% of the principal, but though these rates were quite extortionate loans were in general repaid (Thurston, 1909, vol. I, 64; Madras, 1928, 55; Ranga, 1934, 4). In the previous 426 century not even these loan facilities were accessible to Badagas: they could only borrow from wealthy Badagas, preferably those related to the borrower by marriage but living in a village at some discreet distance from him. No interest was charged on such loans then.

452 426 The first Badaga co-operative society was formed at Kereha:da in 1911, the 'Kerhada Rice Rural Credit Society', named in reference to Mr. S. P. Rice, a former Collector who had initiated interest in the co-operative movement. At that time annual interest rates varied between 24% and 75% of the principal. By 1918 there were eighteen such societies, and by 1927 the plateau had fifty-four agricultural credit societies from which Badagas could get loans

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452 Central Bank; and the fourth runs the Marketing Society
426 (Thorner, 1964, 71–73).

426 The law today limits the monthly interest on pawned items to a rate varying from ¼% to 1½%, depending on the size of the loan. Even so, loans between Badagas now command an interest rate of 1% to 4% per month; while the professional money-lenders also secretly charge interest beyond what they are entitled to. On a loan of up to Rs. 200, for example, the Marwari lender can legally charge only 1½% per month simple interest. He gives a receipt for that rate but at the same time insists on one year's interest in advance, and compounded, at 2% per month. One can hardly castigate the Marwari for his cupidity, or the Badaga for still patronizing him, however, when one learns the scale of bribes which some local government officials expect in return for granting loans from the cooperative bank.

452 Yet the cooperative movement has gone a long way towards
(426) protecting Badagas from the high interest rates of private money-lenders; the Panchayat Unions and some multi-purpose societies even help farmers by supplying fertilizers, insecticides and modern equipment at cost prices. If these societies operate somewhat more effectively here than in other parts of India, the explanation lies in the fact that the Badaga societies are not in practice multi-caste institutions. They are run largely by and for the members of this one community, thus avoiding some of the factionalism and favouritism that commonly pervade such societies elsewhere.

MODERN SYSTEMS OF MARKETING

178 With the spread of urbanization during the mid-nineteenth
(366) century, other markets besides that at Ootacamund began to cater to the needs of local villagers. Regular weekly markets opened at Coonoor, Kotagiri, Wellington, and later in several villages at some distance from any town.[21] The use of these markets by the
(651) Badagas is related to two other developments discussed earlier:
(654) first, the payment of land revenues and the restriction on use of
(434) land caused by the Land Settlement and legislation to stop swidden farming in the forests; and secondly, the consequent movement of some Badaga labourers, including women and children, onto the tea and coffee plantations, where they earned a

cash wage (Grigg, 1880, 34, 471; see above, pp. 149, 152).

Greatly increased contact with markets and with Europeans provided the impetus towards full participation in the cash economy, yet this transition took a century to complete. For the vast majority the basic requirements of food, goods and services continued to be provided either by their own efforts or by their Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. The itinerant Chetti trader continued to make monthly visits, as he still does. From 1825 onwards Badagas could visit local markets on the plateau for what they had previously bought in Gunḍulupe:te and Ka:ramuḍu, but they never sold very much in the markets and thus rarely had spare cash to spend. In the early days of cash-crop farming very few Badagas had enough knowledge or personal contacts to arrange the bulk sale of their produce in a distant market. They used to sell their crops instead to a broker in the Nilgiris, until it became known that a farmer who could find a market and negotiate a sale by himself would make bigger profits. An important motivation was the desire to acquire consumer goods that were now becoming available on a scale and in a variety never before known to the Badagas. Later in the nineteenth century there is evidence of increasing affluence which found expression in the shift from thatched to tiled rooves. '... in 1871 only 1,914 houses out of the 13,922 in the district were tiled; whereas now [1908] tiles are the rule ... in Badaga villages' (Francis, 1908, 130, compare Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 58; Grigg, 1880, 29, 225; 'Geofry', 1881, 132). For the farming family engaged in marketing their crops, cash was necessarily the only medium of exchange, and much of their foodstuffs had to be bought in the town bazaar. A great variety of items was also being purchased, the most obvious of which were new clothes: in the 1890s men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930s women started to wear coloured *sa:ris* (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 58, 90; Hockings, 1979a).

We may say that their commitment to the cash economy was complete by about 1930, in which year most Badagas permanently severed their traditional exchange relationship with the Kotas. This from the Badaga point of view was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas commanded, and without delays. While the Kotas had not been receiving cash, the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming

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many Badaga villages; such itinerant preaching continued throughout the century.

1847 The mission took over a school established in the central village of Ke:ti and began persuading local parents to send more children there; parents objected to losing their children's labour and a salary had to be paid for school attendance. Other mission schools started in Ka:te:ri and So:gatore. Epidemic among Badaga cattle; Toda sorcery held responsible. Badagas in fear of the magic of the Revd. Weigle, who was vaccinating them against smallpox.

1849 The mission schoolmaster and the son of a Badaga headman involved in (unspecified) 'misconduct'. The headman prevented children from attending the school or communicating with missionaries, and that school was closed for six months. Another school opened in Sulligu:du. Some smallpox prevalent.

1850 Ambivalent feelings towards missionaries expressed in the account of a village that begged the Revd. Metz to visit them, then vacillated and asked him not to as the village god might run away.

1853 Typhus epidemic killed over five hundred Badagas. Evangelists noted an increasing opposition to them.

1854 Cholera and typhus epidemics. Government made production and sale of opium illegal: this had been quite an important marketable item for Badagas; some of them were addicted.

1855 Smallpox epidemic killed over a thousand Badagas. Temple for Jesus Christ built. A Badaga presented himself for baptism but died before this could occur. Government prohibited the fire-walking ceremony.

1856 A missionary rest-house burnt down by Badagas. From this year until 1887 government continuously planting further tracts with eucalyptus trees.

1857 Mission school re-established in So:gatore and another in Ba:kola. Stories of the Indian Mutiny caused increased hostility among Badagas towards missionaries and indirectly prevented a conversion. Drought in the Nilgiris.

1858 The first Badaga convert to Christianity, Abraham Nerkambe (formerly Halaiya), was driven from his Kanakka village, which itself was ostracized; much opposition to his conversion, even from his wife. Large drop in school

175 137 137 •(654)

76; Baikie 1834: frontispiece, illustrations opposite 6 and 116; Barron 1837: first four paintings). Grasses covered most sections sloping down to Ootacamund Lake, and St. Stephen's Church was surrounded by grassland. Through funds made available by the Madras State Government, approximately 8,000 acacia and eucalyptus trees had been planted around Ootacamund before July, 1857 (Cleghorn 1861: 176). After his 1860 visit Sir Clements Markham (1862: 357) noted that "except to the N.W., the station is completely surrounded by grass-covered hills. Houses are scattered about under the shelter of the hills, with gardens and plantations of Eucalyptus and Acacia . . ., around them [the houses] . . . ." A photograph and a painting reveal that imported trees had become well established next to Ootacamund Lake by 1875, but grassy patches were still noticeable features on the landscape (Price 1908: illustration opposite 32; Murphy 1953: illustration opposite 196). Photographs taken in 1905 prove that Ootacamund had become a forested city (Price 1908: illustrations opposite 33, 73, and 159). Slopes next to the diminished lake and portions of the former lake area filled with earth were, with the exception of the racecourse, mostly covered with either trees or houses. On the mountain behind St. Stephen's Church many eucalyptus trees were growing, and tall cypresses grew in the churchyard.

Although hundreds of foreign plants now grow in Ootacamund, certain species predominate. Most common acacias are the green and silver wattles (Acacia decurrens Willd., A. dealbata F.V.M.), but black and golden wattles (A. mollissima Willd., A. pycnantha Benth.) are also raised. Cypresses flourish, the Monterey cypress (Cupressus macrocarpa Hartw.) being grown all over the city as an ornamental, a

857 during festive occasions. Badaga women frequently, sometimes daily,
796 wash over sections fronting their houses with coudung solution to keep
535 the courtyards flattened out and cleansed. Low earthen or stone walls
956 edging courtyards define property limits and add to the privacy of
house inhabitants living within house-rows immediately below. Badaga
351 women sometimes store firewood or keep flower gardens on the wall tops,
but they are usually grass covered.

368 Separate shrines and temples stand in communities or on grassy
plots outside. Some Badagas own storage huts where agricultural
implements, fertilizer, seed-potatoes, and agricultural produce are
366 stored. Small coffee, tea, and supply shops are increasing in number
within Badaga villages. Hot beverages, as well as hotmeats, sweetmeats,
rice, and curry, are served in the coffee and tea shops. From supply
shops are obtained cigarettes, matches, grains, pulses, and vegetables.
Areca nut, betel leaf, lime, and perhaps tobacco, which are combined
and chewed, are also sold. Blacksmiths, building and supply contrac-
tors, carpenters, jewellers, and other entrepreneurs have established
368 businesses in Badaga villages. A single government office, or combin-
ation of offices such as panchayat, police, post, and telegraph offices
may also be present. Church or government schools are now located in
or near many communities.

291 Hamlets and villages still have circular cattle-pens built in
[361] natural depressions or enclosed with stone walls, but cattle-hut con-
struction is slowly leading to abandonment of the pens. Goats and
sheep are kept at night on raised platforms within goat- and sheep-
(654) huts. Monetary inducements offered by the Madras Government have

caused some rearers of livestock to start keeping compost pits. In each hamlet or village there is usually a grassy clearing or raised platform where male representatives meet and Badagas gather to chit-chat. A large tree (often a Ficus sp.) may shade this meeting place. Some Badaga women still must fetch water from nearby springs or streams, but many Badaga hamlets and villages now have water piped to faucets set near house-rows. A burial-cremation center is within easy walking distance from each Badaga community. Most Badaga communities have roads running to or through them, and a fair number of these roads are asphalted. Scheduled buses run over some roads, and a few Badagas now drive individually or jointly owned cars, buses, station wagons, and trucks.

Houses. Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. However, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch 1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room. This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was